RESEARCH REPORT

Prepared for:

Multicultural Affairs Branch

Anti-Racism Campaign Unit

Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs

The anti-racism campaign: Quantitative market research to guide campaign development

Project 2115 **July 1998**

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1 Introduction

The research reported here is the second stage of a two-phase research project conducted on behalf of the Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA). The project was conducted to inform the development of an anti-racism campaign. The first phase, conducted in November-December 1997, was a qualitative research project. This phase consisted of 36 focus groups with members of the community expressing positive or negative attitudes towards other ethnic and religious groups. The findings and recommendations resulting from the qualitative phase were reported in March, 1998 under two separate covers.

This document presents the main findings of the second, quantitative phase of research. However, the findings from the qualitative phase of research will again be discussed in this report in light of the findings and recommendations arising from the quantitative research.

The quantitative research was conducted during 7-10 May 1998 to provide strategic directions for the campaign, to assist campaign development and to act as a “benchmark” of community attitudes prior to the launch of the anti-racism campaign.

1.1 A working definition

In conducting this research, Eureka has employed the operational definition of racism stated in DIMA's draft campaign strategy document. That is, we have used a definition based on the concepts of racial vilification and racial discrimination which defines racism as:

"...offensive behaviour or attitudes based on reasons of the race, colour, national or ethnic origin and religion of a person or group. The definition will incorporate behaviour and attitudes which perpetrators often may not perceive to be racist."

Furthermore, this definition is perceived as encompassing:

"...structural forms of racism or 'institutional racism', as found for example in the systemic discrimination against particular group(s) in access to services".

2 Research objectives

The broad aim of this research project was to explore and understand the subtleties and nature of racism in the Australia of the late 1990's, with a view to mounting an effective anti-racism campaign. More specifically, the quantitative research aimed:

- To explore public perceptions of the existence, and community support for, shared community values;

- To investigate whether these shared values are perceived as beneficial to Australia;
- To explore perceptions of harmony (or lack thereof) within Australian society and test the key campaign messages, including “Living in harmony”;
- To identify the perceived contributions of minority ethnic groups and of the indigenous community;
- To assess community attitudes towards various ethnic groups and toward indigenous Australians;
- To explore the perceptions of which of a set of behaviours can be defined as racism;
- To explore perceptions of the causes of racism, and
- To determine whether, and if so, how, the above attitudes and perceptions vary across people of varying socio-demographic profiles.

A copy of DIMA’s research brief for this project is presented at Appendix 1. The brief presents a full list of research objectives for both the qualitative and quantitative research.

3 Methodology

3.1 Research design

The quantitative phase of the research consisted of 2,000 telephone interviews. The interviews were conducted nationally with a random sample of the Australian population aged 16 years and over.

The interviews were of 17 minutes' duration (on average) and conducted using Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) technology. A telephone methodology offered participants more anonymity than a face to face interview and hence, was more likely to result in honest responses to a sensitive issue such as racism.

The sample was drawn at random from CD ROM discs containing up to date listings of the White Pages. To further enhance the representativeness of the sample:

- The sample covered capital cities and country areas, including some remote locations, in all territories. Broad quotas were set in each region to ensure the sample reflected the population in terms of age and gender:

- Interviewing was carried out in the evenings and weekends;
- Three call backs were made to unavailable respondents, and
- The selection of respondents from within the members of the household was randomised by interviewing the individual whose birthday was next.

Where the respondent was under 18 years of age, the broad nature of the interview was first discussed with the parent or other responsible adult, and consent obtained. This was a necessary step in adhering to the code of conduct of the Market Research Society of Australia (MRSA).

Forty-five (45) pilot interviews were conducted prior to launching the survey proper to check for any problems in question wording or misinterpretation, response scale usage or codes and interview length.

All fieldwork for the survey was subcontracted to NCS Australasia (formerly Wells Australasia). NCS are fully IQCA accredited and adhere to the MRSA code of ethics, as does Eureka. NCS has a particularly strong team of bilingual interviewers. While not qualified translators, these interviewers were able to carry out the interview in another language to increase the response rate amongst the non-English speaking (NES) segment of the Australian population.

3.2 Survey content

A copy of the questionnaire used in the quantitative phase of this research is presented in Appendix 2. Broadly speaking, the interview explored the following issues:

- Perceptions of the existence, and societal support for, shared community values;
- Whether these shared values are perceived as beneficial to Australia;

- Perceptions of harmony (or lack thereof) within Australian society and testing of the key campaign messages, including "Living in harmony";
- The perceived contributions of minority ethnic groups and of Australia's indigenous people;
- Attitudes towards various ethnic groups and indigenous people;
- Perceptions of whether everyday or only extreme racist behaviours constitute racism;
- Perceptions of why some people are racist, and
- Socio-demographic details - age, gender, occupation, location, employment status, household income, education level, whether they self-identify as an Aboriginal or a Torres Strait Islander, whether born in Australia, whether either parent was born outside Australia (and if so, whether in an English-speaking country), (if respondent was born overseas) their length of stay in Australia, whether they were born in a non-English speaking country and whether a language other than English is the main language spoken in their household.

Finally, given the sensitive nature of some of the questions asked, the following was read to all respondents as a "sign off" at the end of the interview:

That's the end of the interview. Please note that the statements I asked you to comment on are not necessarily my views or the views of the research company. Those were simply some things other people have said and we wanted to know if you agreed with them. Your answers will be combined with those of other people and will be used to help the Commonwealth Government to develop

a campaign to promote unity and harmony in the Australian community. Thank you for your time and assistance.

All statistical analyses reported in this document were conducted personally by Eureka's consultants using SPSS version 8.0.

3.3 Sample frame

The random sampling for this research was monitored to ensure that it produced a sample representative of the wider Australian population in terms of:

- location (urban, rural and remote areas);
- socio-demographic variables (gender and age).

A full profile of the sample is presented in Appendix 3. In brief, the sample can be described as:

- spread across all states of Australia (36% NSW/ACT, 26% Victoria, 17% Queensland, 10% WA, 9% SA/NT, 3% Tasmania);
- mainly in metropolitan regions (64% metro, 36% non-metro);
- slightly skewed towards females (54% female, 46% male);
- more likely to be aged 45 or under (56% under 46, 44% aged 46 or more);
- mostly in some form of paid work (45% full-time, 18% part-time, 37% not in paid work);
- primarily having a white collar worker as the household's main income earner (50% upper or lower white collar, 26%

blue collar, 20% not in the workforce, 4% student or working in the home);

- varying in total annual household income (46% over $40,000, 45% under $40,000, 10% refused or other);
- not tertiary educated (56% secondary school or lower, 41% TAFE or university, 3% other), and
- primarily of Anglo-Australian background (75% Anglo, 22% from non-English speaking backgrounds and 2.5% self-identified as an Aboriginal or a Torres Strait Islander).

The profile of the sample almost exactly matched that of the Australian population aged 16 and over. The proportion of interviews conducted in each State matched the proportion of the adult Australian population residing in that State. As well, the sample frame matched the metropolitan/non-metropolitan split in population *within* each State. With regard to age, the population aged over 45 was presented in its true proportion. However, the sample slightly *under-represented* those aged 16-35 (by 3%) and *over-represented* those aged 36-45 (by 4%). Further, while the Australian population is 51% female (and 49% male), the sample frame slightly over-represented females as they formed 54% of the final sample.

None of these differences between the sample frame and the Australian population are of a magnitude to have significantly skewed the results of the survey.

The sample frame generated in this research *did not* allow Eureka to report separately on two groups of interest: recently arrived migrants and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people. From a sample of 2,000 people, only 50 respondents (or 2.5%) self-identified as an Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander. Given this sample size, we have not to referred to this group separately or conducted separate analysis on their responses.

Furthermore, “recently arrived” refers to migrants who have been in Australia for only two years ... or five years at the most. The sample frame generated in this research contained only 9% of people who were born overseas ***and*** had been in Australia for five years or less (see Appendix 3). In our survey, this amounted to only 40 people

(9% of 442), hardly adequate to make any valid conclusions about this group. Again, this is the reason no separate analyses have been provided for this community group.

4 Findings

This section will provide an analysis of the current climate of racism, its form, prevalence and intensity, the profile of those most likely to hold more racist views and community reactions to possible campaign themes.

4.1 Attitudes to build on and to address

During the interview, respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with ten statements expressing negative and positive attitudes towards different ethnic/religious groups. As shown in the following table, the majority agreed with all of the positive statements and disagreed with most of the negative statements.

Statement **(N = 2,000)**	**Agree**	**% Disagree**	**Refused/ Don't know**
Positive statements An Australian is anyone committed to Australia, it doesn't matter where you were born	***90***	8	1
Migrants create jobs for other Australians	***69***	24	7
Migrants are no more likely to commit crimes than other Australians	***62***	33	5
Negative statements Migrants bring all sorts of diseases with them to Australia	24	***69***	7
These days, Asian migrants are taking jobs from Australians	31	***62***	7
Asians cause crime and bring drugs into Australia, that's why everybody is against them	39	***56***	6
When I think about the things that migrants and Aboriginals are doing to this country, it's not hard to see why some people are racist towards them	42	***53***	5
Moslems have strange ways and will not really fit into the Australian community	35	***52***	14
Most Aboriginals are lazy and so have to rely on Government handouts to survive	40	***52***	8
What I really hate is when migrants all live together and form ethnic ghettos	***55***	40	5

The level of positive sentiment shown in the table above suggests that some positive attitudes, widely held in the community, can be built on in the context of an anti-racism or pro-harmony campaign. In particular, it is extremely encouraging that 9 in 10 respondents agreed that *"An Australian is anyone committed to Australia, it doesn't matter where you were born."* Clearly, there is room to build on this sentiment and to use it in communicating an anti-racist viewpoint. As it is a view that almost all Australians support, it can be used in communication terms as a starting point in presenting a theme or message about what unites all Australians.

At the same time, the above findings show that a substantial proportion of respondents, and hence, the Australian population, hold very negative views towards segments of our society, views that need to be addressed. These negative views attracted varying levels of support from the Australian community. However, even the negative statement with the lowest level of agreement was supported by one adult Australian in every four.

The fact that most people agree that they *really hate (it) when migrants all live together and form ethnic ghettos* suggests that slightly more than half of the community has an underlying belief that migrants should become part of the "mainstream" and integrate more quickly into the community. Not surprisingly, those of Anglo background were significantly more likely than their counterparts from non-English speaking backgrounds to agree with this statement (57% of Anglo people v 50% of people from NES background). Nevertheless, even half of the established migrants agree that this is an undesirable phenomenon. This was also a view expressed by a large segment of both Anglo people and people from NES background during the qualitative research phase.

However, this was in fact a relatively "mild" statement. It is of even more concern that about 1 in 3 Australians agreed that:

- *Moslems have strange ways and will not really fit into the Australian community*

- *Asian migrants are taking jobs from Australians*

When it comes to "Asians", concerns about crime and drug issues find more support than concerns about employment. Jobs do not seem to be a major issue: two thirds believed migrants create jobs, while one third believed Asian migrants were taking jobs.

Almost a quarter of the community agreed with the view that *migrants bring diseases with them*.

The largest proportion of people who agreed with negative statements was 2 in 5 Australians, or approximately 40% of the population. This substantially large segment agreed that:

- *Asians cause crime and bring drugs into Australia.*

- *Most Aboriginals are lazy and so have to rely on Government handouts to survive.*

- *When I think about the things that migrants and Aboriginals are doing to this country, it's not hard to see why some people are racist towards them.*

All three of these statements arose out of the comments made by people during the focus groups. Clearly, what the quantitative

research has shown is that a substantial portion of the community does hold these views. The last statement listed above, in particular, is indicative of a view that racism can be justified. In the qualitative research we found people using such perceptions as a "justification" for racist acts. In a sense, subjects of racism were blamed and claimed to bring the racism onto themselves. In psychological parlance, this is known as "victim blaming" and it is clearly a view that needs to be addressed by an anti-racism campaign.

The table below shows how people from non-English speaking backgrounds compared in attitudes with "Anglos." In sum, there were three differences. Two pertained to the fact that people from NES background were *less likely to agree* with two of the statements: (a) that they object to formation of "ethnic ghettos" (though 50% still agree with this) and (b) that Asian migrants are taking jobs from Australians. The third difference is that people from NES background are *more likely to agree* that migrants create jobs for other Australians. For the remaining seven statements, the attitudes of these two community groups did not vary significantly.

Statement	NESB (n = 448) % Agree	Anglos (n = 1502) % Agree
Positive statements An Australian is anyone committed to Australia, it doesn't matter where you were born	93	90
Migrants create jobs for other Australians	***75***	***67****
Migrants are no more likely to commit crimes than other Australians	61	62
Negative statements Migrants bring all sorts of diseases with them to Australia	23	24
These days, Asian migrants are taking jobs from Australians	***26***	***33****
Asians cause crime and bring drugs into Australia, that's why everybody is against them	37	39
When I think about the things that migrants and Aboriginals are doing to this country, it's not hard to see why some people are racist towards them	40	42
Moslems have strange ways and will not really fit into the Australian community	36	34
Most Aboriginals are lazy and so have to rely on Government handouts to survive	39	40
What I really hate is when migrants all live together and form ethnic ghettos	***50***	***57****

** Significant difference between the two columns*

4.2 The best contribution: migrants and indigenous people

When asked to nominate the best single contribution that migrants have made to Australia, some people reeled off a series of benefits (hence the data in the following table total over 100%). The contributions most commonly mentioned related to diversity in cuisine, culture or economic benefits. Only a minority of respondents said that migrants had not contributed anything to our nation or, similarly, responded "don't know."

Migrants' best contribution (n = 2,000)	% Nominate as best contribution of migrants*
Variety of foods	24
Their culture/way of life	22
Diversified the culture	22
Willingness to work hard	13
Made us more tolerant/ encouraged harmony	8
Broadened our horizons/aware of the world	6
Economic	5
Multiculturalism	4
Business/set up business	2
Don't know	6
Nothing	3

* Numerous other benefits were mentioned by fewer than 1% of respondents. These are listed in Appendix 4.

The results shown above replicate the findings of qualitative research by emphasising the perceived importance of culinary variety as a contribution of migrants to Australia. However, the quantitative research has also revealed much more support for other contributions of migrants than was apparent in the qualitative research. Clearly, diversification of culture and the contribution of other cultures to Australia's culture is appreciated by almost half (44%) of the Australian population ... without any prompting from the survey. A further 20% of the community see the economic benefits of migration and migrants (13% hard work + 5% economic + 2% business). Approximately 1 in 7 Australians (14%) recognise that migrants have given the Australian society greater tolerance, "broader horizons" and a greater awareness of the rest of the world.

Only 3% of Australians say that migrants have contributed nothing to the country.

From the point of view of a campaign emphasising harmony, then, there are significant potential benefits in referring to the contribution of migrants in diversifying and enriching the Australian culture. However, it is important to keep in mind that the qualitative research indicated that people with the most racist attitudes were most threatened by the dilution of Australian culture perceived to be caused by migrants and by multiculturalism. The quantitative data support this view. Those who supported the most negative statements about migrants and Aboriginals were significantly less likely than those supporting non-racist views to see diversification of culture or "their way of life" as migrants' best contribution to Australia. Only 29% of those supporting many of the racist views nominated this as the best contribution, compared with 55% of those supporting non-racist views. (See section 4.5 for how these two groups were defined.)

Caution therefore needs to be exercised in communicating this message both because those supporting numerous racist views are less likely to believe in these benefits of migration and because they are more likely to feel threatened by cultural diversification.

When it came to nominating the best contribution of indigenous people to Australia, their culture or art was mentioned by half the community. Over a quarter of the community (26%) either could not nominate a contribution of indigenous people or said outright that indigenous people have not made any contribution to Australia. This figure is a lot higher than for migrants' best contribution (9%), indicating that people are almost three times more likely to be disparaging of the contributions of indigenous people than of migrants.

Indigenous people's best contribution	% Nominate as best contribution of Indigenous people*
Their culture/lifestyle	38
Arts/artwork	12
Way they relate to the land	9
Made us more tolerant	6
Sportspeople	4
Their land	3
Made us more aware of family values	1
Strong community spirit	1
Nothing	13
Don't know	13

* Numerous other benefits were mentioned by fewer than 1% of respondents. These are listed in Appendix 4.

Those who said that indigenous people had contributed nothing to Australia were significantly more likely than others to also report that migrants had made no contribution to Australia (12% vs 2%). In other words, there was considerable overlap in these two negative views of the contributions of Australia's minority groups.

4.3 The perceived causes of racism

Participants in the survey were also asked whether they agreed with various statements about the cause or causes of racism. As shown below, 7 in 10 respondents perceived that people hold racist attitudes and behave in a racist manner because they have a (legitimate or illegitimate) fear of losing their job, housing or university place. Fewer people, but still a majority, think that ignorance and lack of education are a reason for racism.

Statement (N = 2,000)	Agree	% Disagree	Don't know
Sometimes people are racist just because they fear losing their jobs, housing or university places	70	27	4
Racist people are just ignorant and uneducated	54	43	3

Anecdotal feedback from telephone interviewers suggests that many participants disagreed with the statement *Racist people are just ignorant and uneducated* not because they view racists in a

positive light, but because they perceive that many well-educated people are often racist. The research therefore indicates that it would be unproductive to represent racists as merely ignorant, uneducated or ill-informed. A large segment of the community would simply question the truthfulness of such an assertion and any such message would be dismissed quickly and readily by most segments of the community.

4.4 Defining racism

The qualitative research revealed that people defined racism in one of two ways: either as inclusive of “everyday” negative acts towards people of other races or only as extreme acts of violence against people of other races. Furthermore, in the qualitative research, those who expressed the most negative and stereotyped views toward other groups - predominantly made up of Anglo-Saxon people - were largely of the view that racism is an extreme act, such as physical violence against people of other races (genocide, behaviours shown by groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and National Action). By definition, they excluded themselves from the definition of what a racist is. That is, they generally said that racism is how other people behave, not themselves. The remaining group participants (positive Anglo-Saxons, most Aboriginals and most migrants) defined racism to include far less “extreme” and more “everyday” behaviours. These groups defined racism to include behaviour such as:

- name calling;
- derogatory comments from people in the street;
- making some customers wait longer for service in shops;

- showing unwarranted rudeness to people trying to make themselves understood in English;
- making sweeping negative generalisations on the basis of cultural, linguistic or religious differences;
- providing assistance (e.g., job applications and income assistance) in a begrudging and reluctant manner;
- discrimination when trying to rent or buy real estate;
- rougher treatment from - or being treated with unwarranted suspicion by - the police;
- abuse on sporting fields;
- walking away from public places (e.g., parks, crossing the footpath) to avoid contact with certain people;
- conversing in a patronising or mocking way; and
- media references to the ethnic background of non-Caucasian offenders.

The quantitative research sought to determine what proportion of the community agreed with an extreme versus everyday definition of racism. To do this, respondents were presented with the two alternative definitions of racism and asked which they agreed with more.

As shown in the following table, the vast majority (84%) of respondents supported a definition of racism which involves everyday (rather than just extreme) expressions of racism.

Definition	% Agree (n=2000)
Racism involves only extreme acts, such as physical violence against people of other races	15

Racism includes everyday acts such as calling people of other races names, or being rude or abusive to them.	84
Don't know	1

The fact that 15% of respondents chose a definition of racism which is restricted to extreme expressions of racial discrimination, and the fact that we know from qualitative research that this definition is indicative of a racist viewpoint, provides an insight into both the *prevalence* and the *intensity* of racist views in the community. In communication terms, this finding suggests that a minority of the population (about 1 in 7) are hard-core "negatives" with such extreme views that they are unlikely to easily succumb to attitudinal change because they reject the view that anything but extreme acts constitute racism. The implications of the size of this "hard core" group are discussed in greater detail in Section 5.2.

Interestingly, those who perceived that racism involves *only* extreme acts were more likely than those who chose the broader definition to perceive that indigenous people have not contributed anything to Australia (21% of extreme definition supporters v 12% of broader definition supporters).

Likelihood of supporting the extremist definition of racism did not vary significantly across gender (16% of males v 14% of females agreed with the extreme definition) or cultural background (Anglos: 15%, NESB: 14%). The extreme definition, however, did gain greater support amongst:

- Older people (55 or over: 21%, 46-54: 16%, 36-45: 14%, under 36: 10%);

- People in non-metro areas (Non-metro: 16%, metro: 14%);
- Those with lower levels of education (Secondary educated or less: 18%, Tertiary educated: 11%);
- Those not in paid work (Not in paid work: 18%, full time paid work: 13%, part-time paid work: 12%);
- People not in the workforce, students/home workers and blue collar workers (Not in the workforce: 21%, students/home workers: 17%, blue collar: 17%, white collar: 11%);
- Those with low annual household incomes (under $20,000: 19%, $20,000 to under $40,000: 16%, $40,000 to under $80,000: 12%, $80,000 or over: 12%), and
- People living in Western Australia (WA: 18%, NSW: 16%, SA: 14%, Tas: 14%, Vic: 13%, Queensland: 12%)**.**

This “profile” of those more likely to hold to an extremist definition of racism views is based on only one attitudinal measure. The following section outlines the development of a more comprehensive index incorporating seven attitudinal measures.

4.5 An index of racism

In order to identify the segments of our community which are most likely to support racist views, Eureka developed an index of racism based on seven statements employed in the survey (five expressing racist attitudes and two expressing non-racist attitudes). In devising this scale, respondents were given a “point” if they agreed with each of the following statements:

- *Migrants bring all sorts of diseases with them to Australia*

- *Moslems have strange ways and will not really fit into the Australian community*

- *Most Aborigines are lazy and so have to rely on Government handouts to survive*

- *When I think about the things that migrants and Aboriginals are doing to this country, it's not hard to see why some people are racist towards them*

- *Asians cause crime and bring drugs into Australia, that's why everybody is against them*

Furthermore, a "point" was assigned for each respondent who disagreed with either of the following statements:

- *Migrants are no more likely to commit crimes than other Australians*

- *An Australian is anyone committed to Australia, it doesn't matter where you were born.*

This process resulted in the calculation of a "racism score" between 0 and 7 for each respondent in the sample: 0 for people who agreed with each of the five former statements and disagreed with each of the two latter statements and 7 for those who did the opposite (and of course other scores between 0 and 7 for those whose answers met the other 254 possible permutations).

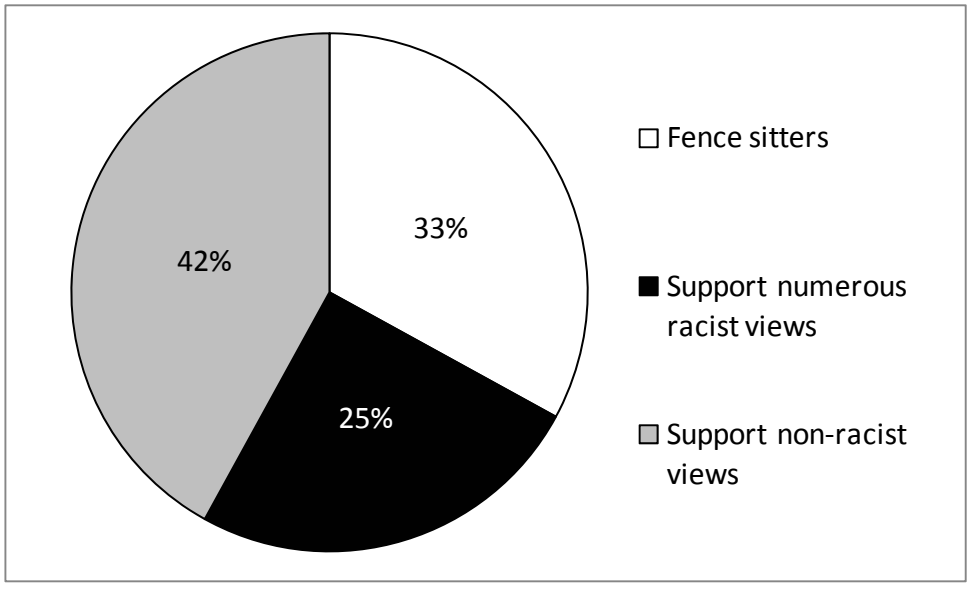
The analysis of the resulting racism scale showed that the community can be split into three segments:

- 42% of the sample expressed support for none or only one racist statement. These people can be described as ***those generally supporting non-racist views***;

- 33% supported only 2 or 3 racist statements (essentially, ***fence-sitters***), and

- 25% supported 4 or more racist statements - ***those supporting numerous racist views***.

These three attitudinal segments of the community are depicted below.



As one would expect, there is a statistically significant correlation between agreement with 4 or more racist statements and support for the extreme definition of racism (r=0.189). In other words, people defining racism only by its extreme expression are also more likely to agree with a greater number of racist statements. As shown in the following table, those who supported the extreme

definition of racism were twice as likely to agree with 4 or more racist statements than those supporting the broader definition (42% versus 22%).

No. of racist statements agreed with …	Total (N=2000) %	Extreme definition of racism (n=294) %	Broader definition of racism (n=1674) %
0-1	42	20	45
2-3	33	38	33
4 or more	25	42	22

These findings support the view that an anti-racism campaign should not be about addressing the definition of racism. That is, tackling the definition of racism by attempting to "convert" the 15% who define it as extreme is unlikely to prove successful because this group also holds a number of very negative views about migrants and indigenous people. This group's definition of racism is therefore but one "symptom" of their overall negative view of other community groups and it is likely to prove the hardest to dislodge.

Our assessment of the degree of difficulty of this task is based on the fact that this group employs the extreme definition partly as a defence mechanism against being labelled "racist". By assuming the definition that they do, they can "define themselves out of" any communications or messages about racism ... because by their definition they are not racist. It is our assessment that this head-on approach of trying to broaden the definition of racism so that the

whole community defines it to include everyday racist acts would be futile so far as 15% of of the community is concerned.

4.6 A profile of the community segments

Analyses reveal that the three segments do not vary significantly in terms of gender. That is, males and females were equally likely to express racist attitudes (27% of males agreed with 4 or more racist statements compared to 24% of females).

Likewise, the three segments were not found to vary according to cultural background with Anglos and people of non-English speaking background just as likely to express racist attitudes (26% of Anglos agreed with 4 or more racist statements compared to 22% of people of non-English speaking background).

These findings indicate that any anti-racism or pro-harmony campaign will need to equally target males and females and people of all cultural backgrounds.

Next, we will examine the differences between the three segments.

Those supporting numerous racist views (25% of the sample)

The segments varied in some respects. As suggested by the definition measure, those who agreed with 4 or more racist statements were found to particularly over-represent people:

- aged 55 or over;
- living in non-metro areas;
- living in Western Australia;

- with a low annual household income (that is, earning under $40,000 and even more so, under $20,000);
- with a lower level of education (secondary school or less);
- not in paid work, and/or
- with a blue collar worker or unemployed person as their household's main income earner.

The above list therefore provides the Department with a list of groups that will prove the most resistant to either an anti-racism or a pro-harmony message. Section 5.2 will explore whether this group is worth targeting in case of either campaign.

As to gender differences, amongst those aged 55 or over who supported 4 or more racist statements, 47% were male and 53% female. This gender split reflects that of the total sample. In other words, males and females aged 55 years or over were equally likely to agree with 4 or more racist statements and hence equally likely to be part of the more extreme segment in the community.

The fence-sitters (33% of the sample)

This segment (consisting of people who supported 2 or 3 racist statements) was found to particularly over-represent people:

- aged 36 to 45 years;
- in South Australia and the Northern Territory;
- with a lower level of education (secondary school or less), and/or
- having a blue collar worker or unemployed person as their household's main income earner.

No other features distinguished this group from the broader

Australian community. Interestingly, fence-sitters did not vary from the total sample in terms of their location (metro or non-metro) or annual household income.

This is a segment whose attitude toward other community groups will be worthy of addressing in the context of either an anti-racism or pro-harmony campaign. Given that they only support some of the racist views and disagree with others, we judge them to hold views that can be influenced in a more positive direction.

This segment was not represented in the qualitative research. Following the quantitative research, it is clear now that this group is an important segment with whom the campaign will need to communicate. Apart from the small demographic differences outlined above, this group represents the general community whose views are mixed when it comes to migrants, other races and to indigenous people. It is *their* attitudes that should prove most responsive to a community or mass media education campaign.

Those supporting non-racist views (42% of the sample)

The segment supporting none or only one of the racist statements was over-represented by people:

- in metro areas;
- in Victoria;
- aged 35 years or under (particularly those under 24);
- with an annual household income over $40,000 per year (and even more so, over $80,000 per annum);
- with a higher level of education (that is, tertiary educated);

- in part-time or full-time paid work, and/or
- living in a household where the main income earner is a student, home worker or in a white collar occupation.

Although just as likely to support racist statements as their male counterparts, females aged 55 or over were more likely than their male counterparts to support none or only one of the racist statements (females: 39%, males: 61%).

This finding indicates that older females are more likely to support non-racist views than older males (with the latter more likely to be fence-sitters).[1]

Detailed demographic profiles of the three segments are also provided in Appendix 5 in tabular form and the reader is directed to these for a greater understanding of how the results outlined above were arrived at.

4.7 Shared values

To test some of the hypotheses arising from the qualitative research, the survey also involved exploration of the values shared by Australian society. In this task, respondents were read out seven values and asked:

- whether each was currently shared by Australians, and if so

[1] One should also consider the possibility that there may be more young people in metro areas than rural areas. Were this the case, it would be age, rather than a rural location, that may be driving racist attitudes. Whilst sub-analysis revealed that there *were* proportionally more young people in metropolitan areas than non-metro areas, it was not possible to determine whether location or age are stronger determinants of racist attitudes (as the total sample contained only a small number of young non-metro dwellers).

- the degree to which the value was shared, and
- whether the values make Australia a better place to live than other countries.

This investigation was undertaken to evaluate whether shared values could form the basis of the campaign and if so, which values had the greatest support in the community ... and hence the greatest chance of succeeding in promoting harmony and addressing racist attitudes.

The three values gaining most support were *Helping those in crisis*, *A fair go* and *A desire for community harmony*. As shown in the following table:

- over three quarters of the sample identified these three values as shared by Australians*;*
- just over half of the total sample felt these values were shared by all or most of the people living in Australia, and

- almost 3 in 4 perceived that these values make Australia a better place to live.

Value (n=2000)	Is a shared value %	Is shared by all/most %	Makes Australia better %
Helping those in crisis	79	54	73
A fair go	78	58	72

Value (n=2000)	Is a shared value %	Is shared by all/most %	Makes Australia better %
A desire for community harmony	77	55	72
A she'll be right attitude	67	37	32
Equality	64	41	59
Acceptance of others	64	39	59
Tolerance	57	31	52

Although *She'll be right* was recognised as a shared value by two-thirds of participants, many acknowledged that this is almost a negative value (that is, a sign of apathy) rather than an easygoing virtue. This result is strongly supported by the qualitative research, where respondents were quick to recognise the increasingly negative contribution of this attitude to Australia's economic prosperity, especially in relation to international competitiveness.

The values of *Equality, Acceptance of others* and *Tolerance* were only supported by two-thirds of the sample. This degree of support is not widespread enough to enable them to underpin a credible campaign. Furthermore, the next section (4.8) will offer more evidence for why equality/egalitarianism is not a viable shared value from the point of view of a harmony/anti-racism campaign. The qualitative research also showed that tolerance was not a value that proved positive enough for subjects of racism to be an acceptable theme for the campaign. In short, tolerance fell well short of the

standard of behaviour that either positives in the community or subjects of racism were asking for. If we focus on those who considered each value to be a shared value, we see that for *A fair go, A desire for community harmony* and *Helping those in crisis*:

- almost 3 in 4 felt that they were values shared by all or most of the people living in Australia, and

- over 9 in 10 perceived them as making Australia a better place to live.

This "conversion" amongst those who believe that any given value is a shared value is illustrated in the following table.

Amongst those who believe it is an Australian value...	**Shared by all/most %**	**Better place %**
A fair go (n = 1553)	74	92
A desire for community harmony (n = 1530)	71	94
Helping those in crisis (n = 1585)	68	92
Equality (n = 1284)	64	92
Acceptance of others (n = 1284)	61	92
A she'll be right attitude (n = 1329)	55	48
Tolerance (n = 1144)	54	91

The above quantitative data suggest that the values of *Helping those in crisis, A fair go* and *A desire for community harmony* are the most appropriate to underpin any campaign based on shared

values because they have the greatest pre-existing support within the community. On the basis of the qualitative research, however, Eureka advises against using the values of *Helping those in crisis* or *A fair go*.

Indeed, when focus group participants discussed the theme of helping those in crisis, some participants openly questioned whether people of certain backgrounds help others, indicating for example, that they doubted *"... you'd ever see an Asian bush firefighter"*. Furthermore, this theme was perceived by some as pleading or as a theme focusing on the down-and-out and appropriate for a charity rather than a country.

Likewise, *A fair go* is likely to have negative repercussions as a campaign theme because some interpret *A fair go* as equality. In fact, many of the focus group participants supported the theme of *A fair go* but perceived this as impossible as long as minority groups are *"running the country"* or *"getting more than their fair share".*

Eureka suggests that the theme of *A desire for harmony* would be the easiest to communicate to the general public in a credible and effective manner. Indeed, this value was equally perceived as a shared value across people of different:

- gender (Males: 77%, Females: 76%)
- age (under 45 years: 78%, over 45 years: 74%)
- education (secondary school or less: 76%, higher education: 77%, other 84%)
- work status (Full-time: 78%, Part-time: 78%, Not in paid work: 74%) and main income earner occupation (blue collar:

76%, white collar: 77%, not in workforce: 76%, student/home worker: 75%);

- residence (Vic: 77%, NSW: 76%, Tas: 71%, WA: 77%,SA: 74%, Queensland 80%), and
- location (metro areas: 76%, non-metro areas: 78%).

Whilst this value did gain widespread support, participant reaction did vary according to participants' household income. Those with a low annual household income were less likely to nominate *A desire for community harmony* as a shared value (Under $40,000: 74%, $40,000 or more: 79%, other: 80%). Hence, if this theme is used, particular attention will need to be paid when developing and conducting the campaign to ensure it effectively targets this low-income segment of the community.

4.8 Perceptions of harmony

In order to more precisely understand the community's reactions to a possible harmony theme, a number of further statements were presented to respondents specifically on this theme and they were once again asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the sentiments expressed. The quantitative research showed that almost all participants supported the sentiment that ***people in Australia should strive for community harmony (98%)***. The majority also supported other positive statements concerning harmony within Australia's society, as shown in the table below.

Statement (n=2000)	Agree	% Disagree	Refused/ Don't know
Community harmony is something we should strive for in Australia	98	2	-
Compared with other countries, Australians live in harmony with one another.	86	11	3
In Australia, people from many cultures co-exist peacefully...and this is something we should be more proud of	86	12	2
Compared to other nations, Australia has absorbed its migrants in a very harmonious way	77	18	4
One of the great things about Australia is the fact that people from so many different cultures live together in harmony	77	21	2

These results indicate that the vast majority of the community already perceives Australia as having a harmonious society . Furthermore, most feel that this achievement should be celebrated more. These findings suggest that an anti-racism campaign based on a theme of harmony could be credibly built on pre-existing attitudes. That is, using harmony as an entry-point (with which most people agree) and building into it messages about non-racist behaviours and standards of behaviour that support a harmonious community.

That said, there are obstacles that would need to be addressed in pursuing a theme of harmony.

Indeed, as shown below, the research also found substantial support for the perception that:

- some groups do not live in harmony within Australia;
- some groups unfairly receive preferential treatment from the government, and
- living in harmony is dependent on migrants assimilating to the Australian way of life.

Statement (n=2,000)	Agree	% Disagree	Refused / Don't know
While most of us in Australia live in harmony, some groups are exceptions	88	10	2
We can't live together in harmony as long as some groups are treated better than others by the government	70	26	4
In the long run, migrants assimilate to the Australian way of life and that's why we live in harmony	61	35	5

Reactions to the first of these statements will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

What the first of the two remaining statements shows is that the majority of the adult Australian population does think that some groups in the community are treated better than others. There is support then for the idea that this is not an equitable society and that those who "shout loudest get the most," a view strongly supported by comments people made in the qualitative research. Any education campaign in this sphere must therefore avoid references to equality because the majority of the population would be dismissive of such an approach in light of their firmly held assumptions about favourable treatment of some groups.

4.8.1 Groups perceived as not living in harmony in Australia

Participants who agreed with the statement *While most of us in Australia live in harmony, some groups are exceptions* were also asked which groups they had in mind as exceptions. As shown in the following table, Aboriginals, Asians and more specifically, Vietnamese people, were most commonly described as groups not living in harmony within Australia.

Of those who said some groups are exceptions to the living in harmony rule ... (n = 1760)	% Nominate group
Aborigines/Aboriginals	22
"Asians"'	20
Vietnamese	10
Migrants/"ethnics"	6
Those who won't assimilate	5
Middle Eastern	4

Of those who said some groups are exceptions to the living in harmony rule ... (n = 1760)	% Nominate group
Racists	4
Pauline Hanson	3
Muslims	3
Italians	2
Greeks	2
Poor and underprivileged	2
Lebanese	2
Chinese	2
Turkish	1
Europeans	1
Unions	1

The table above indicates that any campaign based on a theme of harmony will need to enhance the public's perception that particular minorities *are* living in harmony within Australia and, that, in conjunction with others living in Australia, they are striving for even greater community harmony. These goals can be achieved by demonstrating in the campaign that "visibly different" people of different ethnic and religious groups are living in harmony with Anglo-Australians and indigenous people (and vice versa). Clearly, this is an addressable issue because the majority of the adult population does not see any ***one*** group as living in disharmony with the rest of the community. For example, whilst 22% nominate Aboriginals as such a group, the majority (78%) do not feel this way about the indigenous community.

5 Conclusions

5.1 Possible communication “bridges”

Given the broad-based community support for statements regarding harmony, this research has identified several possible communication “bridges” which can be used to develop an effective anti-racism campaign based on a harmony theme. Indeed, the campaign should build on strong public support for the beliefs that:

- in comparison to other countries, community harmony already exists in Australia;
- this sense of harmony is worth protecting, and
- is worthy of more celebration.

The last of these views is also strongly supported by the findings of the qualitative research.

Those groups which are perceived as exceptions to harmony within Australia should be ***explicitly*** promoted by the campaign as harmonious ... with examples of their cooperation within the wider community. Furthermore, by convincingly emphasising the widely held view that community harmony is desirable, the campaign should ***implicitly*** (i.e., by implication only) aim to portray people with negative views as extremists, as disharmonious and as a minority (which they are).

Eureka also recommends that the campaign address the fears that were expressed in the qualitative research that some migrants lack

long-term commitment to Australia. We suggest achieving this by *redefining the ingroup* (that is, redefining "us") as anyone committed to Australia and its values. This definition of an Australian was almost universally supported in the quantitative research, even by the ardent racists. It is also consistent with the findings of the qualitative research where negative attitudes toward "outgroups" were effectively shifted once the latter's commitment to the country was demonstrated. This approach will act to shift the perception of what constitutes an Australian away from a race/religion-based definition. In turn, such a change will contribute both to reducing the level of expressed racism and to promoting greater (outward) harmony.

The campaign should then *demonstrate* the commitment that minorities (particularly those perceived as obstacles to harmony) have to Australia. However, it is imperative that the messages of commitment and harmony are conveyed in a positive and subtle manner so that the campaign does not appear to portray migrants, minorities or indigenous people as pleading for understanding or as pleading to racists to abandon racism. This is a question of subtlety and an issue that further research will need to address as campaign messages (and themes or "executions") are refined and tested.

The quantitative research showed that the views toward indigenous people were more extreme and more widespread than those expressed toward migrants. The qualitative research did not lead us to believe that the difference would be so stark and so significant. In particular, the negative stereotypes and myths about this community group were found to have wide support in the quantitative research.

The misinformation about Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people is so widely believed that we recommend not only taking an emotional approach to the issue but also using any rational information-based messages that are available. Whilst this approach may have a limited impact on a small proportion of the misinformed, it will serve to question some of the negative views based solely on misinformation about the ATSI community.

In other words, the quantitative research leads us to believe that a sufficient proportion of negative views toward indigenous people is based on pure misinformation as to warrant adding an information arm to the campaign where messages touch on this community group. We also advocate public relations projects `which provide accurate information concerning the assistance provided to the indigenous community, the eligibility criteria for such assistance and the need for affirmative action policies.

5.2 Do we target the segment holding the most racist views?

As noted earlier, the findings of this quantitative survey indicate that the Australian public can be segmented into three groups in terms of their likelihood of expressing racist views. These three groups: those supporting non-racist views, fence-sitters and those supporting numerous racist views can be thought of as lying along a racism continuum.

For *any* campaign aimed at attitudinal and/or behavioural change, there will be a component of the broad target audience who will not be receptive or open to significant changes in attitude. That is,

there will be an extremist segment of the audience who will not undergo attitudinal and behavioural change as result of direct exposure to the campaign.

In this case, the segment at the negative extreme are unlikely to undergo a change in racist attitudes and behaviour as a result of *direct* exposure to an anti-racism campaign (whatever its theme). On this basis, it could be argued that the anti-racism campaign should abandon these “unwinnables” and focus on reducing the racist attitudes of fence-sitters and promoting the positive attitudes of those who support non-racist views.

To a degree, Eureka advocate this focused approach. Indeed, we feel that the campaign should focus on ***directly:***

- reducing the ambivalence of fence-sitters so that they are less likely to hold (and hence, express) racist views and perform racist behaviours, and

- promoting and reinforcing the non-racist attitudes of the largest segment of the community, those supporting *non-racist* views.

In our opinion, targeting these two segments directly will create a social climate of anti-racist sentiment which will ***indirectly*** reduce the expression of racist attitudes and racist behaviours by the racist segment (rather than actually change their attitudes).

5.3 Why a subtle campaign is recommended

It is crucial that the message of this campaign is conveyed in a

subtle manner. Indeed, a “head-on” campaign will be firmly rejected both by fence-sitters and by those supporting numerous racist views because they see their attitudes and behaviour as justified and as non-racist. The pervasiveness of such justification is supported by the finding that 15% of the community do not even perceive everyday racist acts as racism. Anything directly confronting the mindset of those supporting many racist views is only likely to further polarise their views in the direction opposite to that desired. Further, as the experience of fence-sitters is such that they experience and are witnesses to so *few* instances of racism, they too are likely to question the credibility of any message that paints a picture of the Australian community as one rife with disharmony and racist acts.

In fact, the qualitative research revealed that both the “negatives” and some fence-sitters have come to resent political correctness to varying degrees. Not only do they feel that immigration, multiculturalism and Aboriginal assistance is continuing unchecked, they resent that they are not allowed to express their views for fear of being labelled racist.
A direct anti-racism campaign aimed at fence-sitters which depicts any form of extreme racism is also likely to be rejected by this segment. As most of the community have *not* witnessed extreme racism, they are likely to feel that any extreme scenes portrayed are unrealistic and just “hyping up” racism in the community, something they already accuse the media of doing.

Participants in the qualitative research were also strongly of the view that the campaign should be apolitical and bipartisan, supported by all political parties. Furthermore, a large segment of those supporting many racist views is likely to reject an overt anti-

racism campaign as further evidence of “the government pandering to minority groups.”

5.4 A note re “cultural diversity”

To date, DIMA has vigorously promoted cultural diversity in its policies as one of Australia’s strengths and advantages. Whilst not within the brief for this project, the qualitative research discussions provided valuable insight into public reaction to this term.

The focus group discussions showed that this term will not be an effective means of promoting the benefits of having many cultures within Australia. Usage of this term assumes that diversity is, and is perceived as, a positive by the majority of the community. In reality, when reacting to possible campaign themes and titles, “diversity” was often opposed by positives and negatives alike because it was seen as emphasising the differences between people rather than the similarities.

In a social climate where assimilation is preferred by many, the discussions indicated that cultural diversity is perceived as a divisive rather than unifying description of our society. It is therefore not a term we would recommend for usage either in an anti-racism or pro-harmony campaign.

Appendix 1:
DIMA Research Brief

Appendix 2:
Questionnaire

Appendix 3:
Sample demographics

Gender	% (n=2000)
Female	54
Male	46

Age	% (n=2000)
16-23	11
24-35	22
36-45	24
46-54	16
55 and over	28

Occupation of household's main income earner	% (n=2000)
Not in workforce	20
Home duties	1
Full-time student	1
Unskilled Blue collar	12
Skilled Blue collar	14
Lower White collar	35
Upper White collar	15
Refused/Don't know	2

**Please note that the data in each table may not add to 100% due to rounding*

In paid work?	% (n=2000)
Not in paid work	37
Part-time work	18
Full-time work	45

Total annual household income	% (n=2000)
Under $20,000	18
$20,000 to under $40,000	27
$40,000 to under $80,000	32
$80,000 or over	13
Don’t know	4
Refused	6

Highest education level achieved	% (n=2000)
No formal education	1
Primary school	9
Secondary school	46
Technical College/ TAFE	15
University	26
Other	3

**Please note that the data in each table may not add to 100% due to rounding*

State of Australia	Total (n=2000) %	Metro (n=1,278) %	Rural (n=722) %
NSW/ACT	36	65	35
Victoria	26	70	30
Queensland	17	45	55
Western Australia	10	74	26
SA/NT	9	75	25
Tasmania	3	38	62

Cultural background	% (n=2000)
Anglo	75
Non English-Speaking Background	22
Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander	3

Country of birth	% (n=2000)
Australia	78
Another English speaking country	13
A non English speaking	9

Main language spoken in home	% (n=1,953)
English	88

Another language	12

**Please note that the data in each table may not add to 100% due to rounding*

Either parent born outside Australia?	% (n=1,714)
Yes, both	26
Yes, one only	13
No	61

Parent(s) born in an English speaking country?	% (n=661)
Yes, one only	29
Yes, both	43
No, one only	8
No, both	20

Migrants' length of time in Australia	% (n=442)
0-2 years	4
Over 2 years but less than 5	5
5-10 years	12
Over 10 years	79
Refused	1

**Please note that the data in each table may not add to 100% due to rounding*

Appendix 4:
Contributions of migrants and indigenous people mentioned by fewer than 1% of the sample

Migrants

Wine /appreciation of wine
Artwork
Sports/sports people
Brought money in/financial contribution
Expanded industry
Generated employment
Technology
Involvement in building project
Medicine
Knowledge
Brought their skills
Work skills/skilled workforce
Made us aware of family values
Strong community spirit
Agriculture farming
Tourism
Made Australia a better place to live
Moulded Australia too what it is today
Contributed to population growth
Involvement in politics
Bought professional skills
Give white Australians a social conscience
Fought for survival/stand up for their rights
Give us a sense of Nationalism
They are Australians
Friendly/easy going people
Contribute in many ways (unspecified)

Indigenous people

Made us less European

Willingness to work/hard

Knowledge

Ability to survive in outback

Contribution to outback life

Tourism

Appendix 5:

Segment demographics

Gender

No. of racist statements agreed with…	Total (N=2000) %	Males (n=924) %	Females (n=1076) %
0-1	41	39	43
2-3	33	34	33
4 or more	25	27	24

Cultural background

No. of racist statements agreed with...	Total (n=2000) %	Anglos (n=1502) %	NESBs (n=448) %
0-1	41	42	41
2-3	33	32	38
4 or more	25	26	22

Geographic region

No. of racist statements agreed with…	Total (n=2000) %	Metro (n=1278) %	Non-metro (n=722) %
0-1	41	45	35
2-3	33	33	35

4 or more	26	23	31

**Please note that the data in each table may not add to 100% due to rounding*

State

No. of racist statements agreed with…	Australia (N=2000) %	WA (n=190) %	NSW/ ACT (n=716) %	QUEENS LAND (n=344) %	TAS (n=52) %	VIC (n=512) %	SA/NT (n=186) %
0-1	41	36	39	44	44	45	44
2-3	33	34	35	29	31	32	39
4 or more	26	31	27	27	25	24	17

Age

No. of racist statements agreed with…	Total (n=2000) %	Under 24 (n=213) %	24-35 (n=440) %	36-45 (n=469) %	46-54 (n=317) %	55 or over (n=557) %
0-1	41	53	47	43	41	31
2-3	33	30	30	37	34	34
4 or more	26	17	23	20	25	35

Annual household income

No. of racist statements agreed with…	Total (n=2000) %	Under $20,000 (n=368) %	$20,000 to under $40,000 (n=541) %	$40,000 to under $80,000 (n=637) %	$80,000 and over (n=253) %	Don't know/ refused (n=201) %
0-1	41	31	37	46	55	40

2-3	33	32	35	33	30	35
4 or more	25	36	28	21	15	25

**Please note that the data in each table may not add to 100% due to rounding*

Highest education level completed

No. of racist statements agreed with…	Total (n=2000) %	Secondary school or less (n=1120) %	Tertiary educated (n=813) %	Other (n=67) %
0-1	41	32	54	39
2-3	33	37	28	37
4 or more	25	31	18	24

In paid work?

No. of racist statements agreed with…	Total (n=2000) %	Full-time (n=899) %	Part-time (n=359) %	Not in paid work (n=740) %
0-1	41	44	46	37
2-3	33	32	33	35
4 or more	25	24	21	29

Occupation of household's main income earner

No. of racist statement	Total (n=2000)	Not in workforce	Student / home duties	Blue collar (n=522)	White collar (n=989)

s agreed with…	%	(n=393) %	(n=82)* %	%	%
0-1	41	30	52	30	51
2-3	33	38	22	37	30
4 or more	25	32	26	32	19

**Please note that the data in each table may not add to 100% due to rounding*

Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs Anti-Racism Campaign - Quantitative Questionnaire

Introduction

Hello. My name is [INTERVIEWER] from Eureka Strategic Research, a public opinion research company. We are conducting a survey on behalf of the Australian Government on an important national issue. Please be assured that we will not ask you any questions of a highly personal nature and that we are not trying to sell you anything. It is very important that we include your views in our survey.

I actually need to speak with someone in the household who is aged 16 or over. (If there is more than one person over 16 in the household, say "I need to speak with the person whose birthday is next." *If "next birthday" person unavailable, arrange a convenient call-back time.*)

IF RESPONDENT - Continue
IF ANOTHER RESPONDENT - repeat intro.

You can be assured that any information that you give us will be kept completely confidential. The questions will take no more than 15 minutes of your time.

[IF QUERIED AT ANY STAGE ABOUT *BONA FIDES* OF RESEARCH OR ABOUT EUREKA'S CREDENTIALS, INVITE RESPONDENT TO CALL MRSA ENQUIRY LINE ON 1300 36 4830 OR EUREKA ON (02) 9519 2021: Contact Dr Fadil Pedic or Philippa McCafferty.]

1. Values

Q1.1 It's often said that Australians share a set of values that make us who we are. Which of the following values would you say are ***shared by Australians nowadays***? (READ OUT & ROTATE and allow for *Don't know/Can't say* answers) To start off, do you think that ... is a value shared by Australians nowadays?

A SHE'LL BE RIGHT ATTITUDE
HELPING THOSE IN CRISIS
A DESIRE FOR COMMUNITY HARMONY
EQUALITY
A FAIR GO
TOLERANCE
ACCEPTANCE OF OTHERS

Q1.2 *For each YES @ Q1.1, ask*: And do you think that (READ OUT VALUE) is a value shared by ALL of the people living in Australia, or MOST or SOME or ONLY A FEW of the people living in Australia?

Q1.3 *For each YES @ Q1.1, ask*: And do you think that (READ OUT VALUE) makes Australia a better place to live than other countries in the world?

2. Harmony

Q2.1 I am going to read out a series of statements, please tell me whether you personally agree or disagree with each statement.

OK, the first statement is ... [ROTATE]

a. Compared with other countries, Australians live in harmony with one another.
b. While most of us in Australia live in harmony, some groups are exceptions.
c. One of the great things about Australia is the fact that people from so many different cultures live together in harmony.
d. We can't live together in harmony as long as some groups are treated better than others by the government.

e. Community harmony is something we should strive for in Australia.
f. In Australia, people from many cultures co-exist peacefully ... and this is something we should be more proud of.
g. Compared to other nations, Australia has absorbed its migrants in a very harmonious way.
h. In the long run, migrants assimilate to the Australian way of life and that's why we live in harmony.

[AFTER EACH ITEM] Do you agree or disagree with that statement? Is that strongly or mildly?

Q2.2 *If agree (strongly or mildly) @ Q2.1b above, ask*: When you agreed that (READ OUT b. above), which groups in particular did you have in mind? (OPEN-ENDED QUESTION)

Q2.3 This is probably the hardest question I'll ask you today, so please take a moment to reflect on it. What's the ***single best contribution*** that ...

(READ OUT AND ROTATE)

a. migrants
b. Indigenous people

... have made to Australia? (OPEN-ENDED QUESTION)

(PLEASE DISTINGUISH BETWEEN A "DON'T KNOW" AND "NIL" RESPONSE TO THIS QUESTION)

3. Attitudes

Q3.1 I am again going to read out a series of statements. Please tell me if you personally agree or disagree with each statement.

OK, the first statement is ... [ROTATE]

a. Migrants are no more likely to commit crimes than other Australians.
b. Migrants bring all sorts of diseases with them to Australia.
c. What I really hate is when migrants all live together and form ethnic ghettos.
d. These days, Asian migrants are taking jobs from Australians.
e. An Australian is anyone committed to Australia, it doesn't matter where you were born.
f. Moslems have strange ways and will not really fit into the Australian community.
g. Migrants create jobs for other Australians.
h. Most Aborigines are lazy and so have to rely on government handouts to survive.

[AFTER EACH ITEM] Do you agree or disagree with that statement? Is that strongly or mildly?

4. Definition & Explanations

Q4.1 Next, I would like you to think about racism. Racism can be defined in a number of different ways. If there were ***only two possible definitions,*** which of these would you agree with more? (READ OUT AND ROTATE)

a. Racism involves only extreme acts, such as physical violence against people of other races.

OR

b. Racism includes everyday acts such as calling people of other races names, or being rude or abusive to them.

Q4.2 I am again going to read out four statements. Please tell me if you personally agree or disagree with each statement.

OK, the first statement is ... [ROTATE]

a. Racist people are just ignorant and uneducated.
b. Sometimes people are racist just because they fear losing their jobs, housing or university places to migrants.
c. Asians cause crime and bring drugs into Australia, that's why everybody is against them.
d. When I think about the things that migrants and Aboriginals are doing to this country, it's not hard to see why some people are racist towards them.

[AFTER EACH ITEM] Do you agree or disagree with that statement? Is that strongly or mildly?

5. Demographics

Q5.1 Location: record State/Territory and metro/regional/rural.

Q5.2 Record gender
MALE
FEMALE

Thanks for all that. Before you go, I'd like to ask you a few more questions to ensure that we have spoken to a good cross-section of people.

Q5.3 First, what is your age? (PRE-CODES BELOW)
UNDER 24
24-35

36-45

46-54

55 AND OVER

Q5.4 What is the highest level of education that you have completed to date?

(PRE-CODES BELOW)

NO FORMAL EDUCATION
PRIMARY SCHOOL
SECONDARY SCHOOL
TECHNICAL COLLEGE (TAFE)
UNIVERSITY

Q5.5 Do you work in full time employment, part time employment or are you not in paid work? (PRE-CODES BELOW)

FULL TIME

PART TIME

NOT IN PAID WORK

Q5.6 Thinking about the main income earner in your household, what is their occupation and position or job title? (PROBE FULLY AND USE NCS PRE-CODES)

Q5.7 And what about the total annual income of your household before tax)? Is it above or below $40,000? (before tax). In which of these ranges does it fall?

LESS THAN $20,000

$20,000 to under $40,000

$40,000 to under $80,000

$80,000 OR OVER

Q5.8 Do you consider yourself to be an Aboriginal OR a Torres Strait Islander?

NO - Continue
YES - Skip to section 6

Q5.9 Were you born in Australia?

YES - skip to Q5.13
NO

Q5.10 In total, how long have you been living in Australia?

(RECORD IN WHOLE YEARS ONLY)

Q5.11 Were you born in a country where English is the main language?

YES
NO

Q5.12 Is a language other than English the main language spoken in your household?

YES - skip to 6
NO

Q5.13 Were either of your parents born outside Australia?

YES - ONE ONLY
YES - BOTH
NO - skip to 6

Q5.14 [Were your parents][Was this parent] born in an English-speaking country?

YES - ONE PARENT
YES - BOTH PARENTS
NO - ONE PARENT
NO - BOTH PARENTS

6. Sign-off

That's the end of the interview. Please note that the statements I asked you to comment on are not necessarily my views or the views of the research company. Those were simply some things other people have said and we wanted to know if you agreed with them. Your answers will be combined with those of other people and will be used to help the Commonwealth Government to develop a campaign to promote unity and harmony in the Australian community. Thank you for your time and assistance.